

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6513

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 4460

NODIS

EA FOR HOLBROOKE; EA/J FOR SHERMAN; TO FOR NYE. FROM SHOESMITH

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MNUC, PFOR, TECH, ENRG, JA
SUBJECT: GOJ FOLLOW-UP TO CARTER/FUKUDA NUCLEAR ENERGY TALKS;
INITIAL REACTION TO U.S. DOMESTIC NUCLEAR ENERGY POLICY

REF: (A) STATE 067973 (B) TOKYO 4278 (C) STATE 070149

1. I WAS CALLED IN BY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MINISTER UNO AFTERNOON OF 3/29, TO HEAR A STATEMENT FROM HIM ON GOJ FOLLOW-UP TO CARTER/FUKUDA DISCUSSION ON NUCLEAR ENERGY AND NON-PROLIFERATION. DIRECTOR-GENERAL OKAWA, UN BUREAU, MOFA, ALSO WAS PRESENT.

2. UNO BEGAN BY SAYING THAT GOJ HAD FORMED A COUNCIL ON THE REPROCESSING PROBLEM CONSISTING OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INDUSTRY, WITH HIMSELF AS CHAIRMAN. A "THINK TANK" OF EXPERTS, INCLUDING INDUSTRIAL REPRESENTATIVES, ALSO HAD BEEN FORMED, TO PROVIDE COUNCIL WITH TECHNICAL ADVICE. THESE ACTIONS REFLECTED "GREAT CONCERN" THAT GOJ ATTACHES TO REPROCESSING MATTER, UNO SAID. HE THEN PRESENTED LONG STATEMENT, MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS:

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3. NPT HAD BEEN RATIFIED IN JAPAN BY OBTAINING SUPPORT FROM OPPOSITION PARTIES, USING ARGUMENT THAT JAPAN WOULD NOT BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BY WEAPONS STATES. CURRENT DISCUSSIONS ON NUCLEAR POLICY IN DIET ARE POINTING THIS OUT. ONE EXTREME DIET MEMBER IS CALLING REPROCESSING ISSUE AN "ABC" TYPE OF PROBLEM (REFERRING TO ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF JAPAN BY LARGE COUNTRIES IN LATE 1940'S THAT WAS FACTOR

IN JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO WW II). LDP LEADERSHIP HAS REJECTED THIS EXTREME POSITION BUT SOME LDP MEMBERS HAVE SIMILAR EXTREME VIEWS. ARTICLE IV OF NPT IS BEING CALLED TO ATTENTION OF GOJ BY DIET, ALONG WITH OBSERVATION THAT TREATY IS INTERNATIONAL, NOT BILATERAL, AND THAT OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE VOICE IN ITS INTERPRETATION. ARTICLE VI, CALLING FOR ACTIVE MEASURES TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT BY WEAPONS STATES, ALSO IS PERTINENT. JAPAN FULLY SUPPORTS ARTICLE VI. HOWEVER, GOJ IS UNABLE TO EXPLAIN TO JAPANESE PEOPLE USG'S INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLES IV AND VI. GOJ IS AWARE OF SECRETARY VANCE'S ACTIVITY ON SALT, APPRECIATES HIS EFFORTS, AND COULD UNDERSTAND USG ACHIEVING MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, FOLLOWED BY RESTRICTIONS ON PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. USG ACTUAL APPROACH APPEARS TO BE IN REVERSE ORDER. USG SHOULD BE AWARE OF THIS LINE OF JAPANESE THOUGHT, SO THAT NO CRACK APPEARS IN U.S./JAPAN RELATIONS. IN ORDER TO ADJUST OPINIONS TO TWO GOVERNMENTS, GOJ WANTS TO SEND NUCLEAR DELEGATION TO U.S. IN NEAR FUTURE. COOPERATION OF EMBASSY AND USG IS SOLICITED.

4. SERIES OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOWED. UNO NOTED THAT CARTER HAD TOLD FUKUDA THAT SCHLESINGER WOULD BE POINT OF CONTACT FOR JAPANESE IN FURTHER NUCLEAR DISCUSSIONS. GOJ LEARNED LATER THROUGH CONTACTS IN WASHINGTON THAT THIS WAS NOT SO. GOJ NEEDS TO LEARN ASAP NAME OF INDIVIDUAL IN WASHINGTON IT SHOULD CONTACT, SINCE ISSUANCE OF U.S. POLICY STATEMENT ON APRIL 20 IS FAST APPROACHING.

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LIKEWISE, GOJ NEEDS TO KNOW ASAP THE SCHEDULE FOR NEGOTIATIONS OFFERED BY PRESIDENT. I ANSWERED THAT GOJ CONCERNS WOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO WASHINGTON, OBSERVING THAT PRESIDENT IS VERY SENSITIVE TO JAPAN'S NUCLEAR CONCERNS, IN PART AS RESULT OF FUKUDA'S EXPLANATION OF THEM. I ALSO POINTED OUT THAT I HOPED GOJ CORRECTLY UNDERSTOOD PRESIDENT'S NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES; OTHERWISE, PROBLEM WILL BECOME MORE COMPLICATED. I THEN PROCEEDED TO RESTATE USG OBJECTIVES, EMPHASIZING NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JAPAN, CONTINUATION OF COOPERATION ON PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR ENERGY, EMPHASIS ON NEED TO LIMIT AVAILABILITY OF WEAPONS-USABLE MATERIAL, AND DESIRE FOR INTERNATIONAL EVALUATION OF FUEL CYCLE.

5. I ALSO STATES THAT EMBASSY ALREADY HAD ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION OF POINT OF CONTACT FOR JAPANESE AND SCHEDULE FOR NEGOTIATIONS (REFTEL B). UNO SAID THAT SINCE DIET IS IN SESSION, HE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO LEAD GOJ TEAM. HE ASKED IF U.S. WAS SEEKING MULTILATERAL SOLUTION TO PROLIFERATION PROBLEM, AND I ANSWERED IN

AFFIRMATIVE. HE COMMENTED THAT U.S. APPROACH WAS TOO ABRUPT, AND CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS OF ISSUE REMAIN UNCHANGED.

6. I WAS THEN CALLED TO SEPARATE MEETING WITH OKAWA, HIS DEPUTY KOBAYASHI, AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS DIRECTOR OHTA. PURPOSE WAS TO PRESENT GOJ INITIAL REACTION TO USG NON-PAPER (REFTELS A AND B). COMMENTS WHICH WERE TO FOLLOW HAD BEEN CLEARED BY FUKUDA, SUNODA, HATOYAMA, AND UNO.

7. INITIAL GOJ REACTION CONSISTS OF FOLLOWING COMMENTS OR QUESTIONS:

A. PAPER REPRESENTS USG DECISIONS ON DOMESTIC NUCLEAR POLICY. THIS IS INTERNAL MATTER AND PERHAPS NOT PROPER SUBJECT FOR GOJ COMMENT. HOWEVER, GOJ HAS AN
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INTEREST IN ITS INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS AND NOTES THE STATEMENT, ".....THE UNITED STATES WISHES TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH A LIMITED NUMBER OF NATIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF ITS DOMESTIC DECISIONS.....". THIS INTENTION IS APPRECIATED BY GOJ BUT APPEARS RATHER MEANINGLESS IF CONSULTATIONS TAKE PLACE AFTER REPEAT AFTER U.S. POLICY IS ANNOUNCED. IF IT IS THE USG INTENTION TO HOLD CONSULTATIONS BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT OF U.S. POLICY, THEN INSUFFICIENT TIME APPEARS TO BE AVAILABLE FOR GOJ TO PREPARE AND PRESENT ITS COMMENTS.

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 4460

NODIS

EA FOR HOLBROOKE; EA/J FOR SHERMAN; TO FOR NYE. FROM SHOESMITH

B. PAPER STATES THAT U.S. WILL INDEFINITELY DEFER COMMERCIAL REPROCESSING AND RECYCLING OF PLUTONIUM IN THE U.S. GOJ WISHES TO CLEARLY STATE THAT IT MAINTAINS ITS INTENTION TO OPERATE THE TOKAI REPROCESSING PLANT AS SCHEDULED.

C. PAPER STATES THAT U.S. "WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS A WIDE RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES AND FRAMEWORKS THAT PERMIT ALL NATIONS TO ACHIEVE THEIR ENERGY OBJECTIVES WHILE REDUCING LIKELIHOOD OF A FURTHER SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS." WHAT KIND OF TIMETABLE AND WHAT MODALITIES DOES THE U.S. PROPOSE FOR SUCH DISCUSSIONS? THE GOJ HAS ALWAYS HELD THE VIEW THAT SUCH DISCUSSIONS WOULD REQUIRE A MULTILATERAL APPROACH. THE DATE OF APRIL 20 KEEPS RECURRING AS THE TIME LIMIT BY WHICH DISCUSSIONS MUST BE COMPLETED. YET THE LONDON NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS TALKS ARE SCHEDULED FOR AFTER THAT DATE, AS IS THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT. DOES THE U.S. ENVISUAGE THE LONDON SUPPLIERS TALKS TAKING PLACE AS NOW SCHEDULED?

D. WHAT KIND OF PRIOR CONSULTATION HAS USG CONDUCTED WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF IAEA? THE PAPER REFERS TO STRENGTHENING AND IMPROVING THE IAEA. THE GOJ CON-
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SIDERED THAT MULTILATERAL APPROACHES TO NON-PROLIFERATION FALL WITHIN THE DOMAIN OF THE IAEA AND RECALLS THE EKLUND PROPOSAL OF A FEW MONTHS AGO WHICH THE USG DID NOT SUPPORT.

E. IF THE U.S. INTENDS TO NEGATE ARTICLE IV OF THE NPT, JAPAN WOULD BE FORCED TO OBJECT. YET THE PAPER MENTIONS U.S. COMMITMENT TO ENCOURAGING WIDEST POSSIBLE ADHERENCE TO NPT. COUNTRIES MUST BE GIVEN INCENTIVES TO JOIN NPT AND THIS DOES NOT APPEAR FEASIBLE THROUGH U.S. APPROACH. THE GOJ ALSO QUESTIONS U.S. POLICY OF SELLING NUCLEAR REACTORS TO COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT PARTIES OF NPT.

F. WILL THERE ALSO BE A U.S. STATEMENT OF ITS INTERNATIONAL REPEAT INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR POLICY? WILL JAPAN BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO COMMENT ON IT AND A REASONABLE AMOUNT OF TIME TO DO SO?

G. THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER DECIDED THAT

CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN GOJ AND USG WOULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE FINALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL USG POLICY. IS THIS STILL USG POSITION? IS DR. SCHLESINGER THE POINT OF CONTACT FOR SUCH CONSULTATIONS?

8. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, IT BECAME CLEAR THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY HAD OBTAINED SOME INFO FROM SOURCES IN WASHINGTON THAT WAS NOT KNOWN TO US. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE DEPT. OFFICIAL REPORTEDLY REVEALED THAT THERE WERE TO BE SEPARATE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY STATEMENTS; ANOTHER OFFICIAL REPORTEDLY SAID THAT DOMESTIC STATEMENT WOULD BE ISSUED ON APRIL 7 OR 8 AND INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT BEFORE REPEAT BEFORE APRIL 20. OHTA STATED THAT HIS SOURCES SAY THAT SCHLESINGER IS NOT INVOLVED IN NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY MATTERS, PERHAPS BECAUSE OF HIS POSITION ON NUCLEAR POWER. ON OTHER HAND, BRZEZINSKI, HOLBROOKE, SECRET

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WARNKE, AND NYE WERE SUPPOSED TO BE INVOLVED, BUT NOT ALL OF THEM HAVE BEEN. MINISTER NISHIDA IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT GOJ COMMENTS ON NON-PAPER WOULD BE OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE AND SHOULD BE CAREFULLY DRAFTED. MOFA OFFICIALS WONDERED ALOUD HOW THEY COULD BE EXPECTED TO DO THIS BY APRIL 1.

9. I STRONGLY ENCOURAGED OKAWA TO TAKE POSITIVE APPROACH TOWARD U.S. PAPER BY OFFERING PROPOSALS TO USG FOR IMPROVING GLOBAL NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME AND BY NOT CONCENTRATING SO MUCH ON CURRENT INTERNAL GOJ PROBLEM OF WHAT TO TELL PEOPLE ABOUT TOKAI REPROCESSING PLANT. HE RESPONDED THAT MORE DETAILED GOJ POSITION (THAN PRESENTED ABOVE) MIGHT BE PREPARED BEFORE 4/1 AND THAT IT MIGHT INCLUDE SOME POSITIVE PROPOSALS, SUCH AS USE OF TOKAI FOR INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS DEMONSTRATION AND A REQUEST FOR A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM U.S. ON HOW TO ASSURE FUEL SUPPLIERS FOR NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS.

10. FOREGOING WAS DRAFTED PRIOR TO RECEIPT OF REF C. FOREIGN OFFICE HAS RECEIVED REPORT OF TOGO-HOLBROOKE-NYE MEETING AND NOW UNDERSTANDS LEVEL AT WHICH WE HAVE PROPOSED TECHNICAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS BEGIN. FOREIGN OFFICE EXPECTS TO REACH DECISION SHORTLY ON COMPOSITION ITS DELEGATIONS FOR THESE CONSULTATIONS WHICH IT HOPES CAN BEGIN SOMETIME DURING WEEK OF APRIL 4. SHOESMITH

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Message Attributes

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